537 643 /118 cont./ This boastful tone also comes to the fore in the loyalty oath (aru) made to the prince by lower chieftains or prominent followers at the inauguration of a new prince or at other very important happenings such as war. It is a combination of expressions of the greatest self-glorification and words expressing the most abject subjection to the superior. It is the same kind of self-abasement which in the end is nothing but a self-elevation, as has already been noted in cases where men of standing call themselves the slaves of the prince.

This oath is uttered with a drawn kris and amidst signs of the strongest emotion. Sentence after sentence is shouted rather than spoken. The oath following here belongs to the former adat community head of Borongloë. Among other occasions, he uttered it at the inauguration of the Prince of Goa in 1937. The recording of the text took place in 1948 (1).

[114]

1. This translation has already appeared in the monthly magazine Oriëntatie for February, 1949. A number of improvements were made in it. The original text became mutilated and could therefore not be reprinted here.

537 539 643 Listen to me,
the most miserable servant of God,
the least among the warriors of the Prophet.
Where there is nobody, there am I
and where there is somebody, there am I
as his twin brother.
I am the man of the women,
the lover of the girls,
the man who is unshakably faithful to the adat,
who holds fast to the adat,

537 /118 cont./
539 who stands firmly for the truth.
643 I am always at work,
like a pack saddle that is never taken off,
like a saddle strap that is never loosened.
I am strong as a crupper which never tears, /119/
as a needle which never breaks,
as a hide that never yells when it is beaten.
Whether it is heavy or light,
I carry all.
If I am sent far away,
then nobody needs to help me at my task;
then one only needs to listen
to the report that I bring back.
For I am as a dove that does not
have to be lured but that comes by itself.
If I get work to perform close by,
then I need no help with it;
then one only needs to look on at my work.
For I am as a cock that does not need to be called,
but that comes of its own accord.
Even if there is but one single piece of rattan from a rattan mat,
even if there is but one single string of lontar,
if the Royal Council should sit on it, I will sit on it.
Even if rain and wind beat against me,
even if the whirlwind turns me around,
I am not afraid,
so long as I find protection with the Royal Council.
I am a descendant of people who persevere;
I am a descendant of people who do not fear death;
I am the most reliable of all confidants;
I am the best of all followers;
I am the most valiant man of Goa,
the hero of Borongloë.
Listen to the Berang River,
the never-breaking anchor cord of Goa.

537 /119 cont./
539 Listen to the mountain, the Bawakaraëng,
643 the never-loosening anchor,
such am I, too,
and only he who can be trusted in this way,
can truly be trusted.
If the Royal Council removes to the west,
then I will also go to the west;
if it removes to the east,
I will also go to the east. /120/
But if the Royal Council resides
with you, my Prince, in the ancestral gathering hall, then I will remain below (1).

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1. That is to say, I will not take part in the conference; I follow. Makassarese dwellings are built on posts. If the prince confers with his Royal Council, the lower people wait under the house and listen in.

Opposition

571 Fairchild's definition of the concept "opposition" gives a good picture of conditions in South Celebes. He defines it by: "resistance to or efforts to prevent or offset the efforts or ideas of another person or group, not necessarily accompanied by attitudes of anger or purpose to destroy or injure the opponent" (2) /cited in English/. This term will be used here.

2. H.P. Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944.

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
565 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in